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"The Hallinans are running for President"

That's how Vivian (Mrs.) Hallinan put it. Anyone who looks at this picture of the Hallinan brood can see they've got what it takes. The six sons, all named for Irish revolutionary heroes, are (l. to r.): Conn Malachi (Flash); Terence Tyrone (Kayo); Patrick Sarsfield (Butch); Mr. Hallinan; Michael De Valera (Tuffy); Mrs. Hallinan; Daniel Barry (Dangerous); Matthew Brennis (Dynamite).

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Hallinan, Mrs. Bass accept, pledge a peace campaign

By John T. McManus

CHICAGO

ON SATURDAY NIGHT, March 29, President Truman and the Democratic Party got $130,000 worth of free radio and television time for their Jackson-Jefferson Day dinner, at which the President announced that he would not accept renomination.

On Sunday morning, March 30, in a trade union meeting hall in Chicago, without benefit of radio or television, a white lawyer heading for jail for militant defense of a labor leader and a Negro woman newspaper publisher known and beloved in every Negro community in America, stood up together before 200 representatives from 31 states to accept Progressive Party nominations as Peace Candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency.

The candidates—Vincent Hallinan of California, scheduled to enter McNeil Island Penitentiary in Seattle this month to begin serving a six-month sentence for contempt of court for his militant defense of labor leader Harry Bridges; and Mrs. Charlotta Bass, retired publisher of the California **Eagle** and now a New York resident and national leader of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice—delivered deeply meaningful addresses of acceptance which kept the small hall ringing with cheers and applause and brought the audience to its feet time after time.

THE ROLE OF NEGROES: Their texts, which are excerpted on p. 3, cannot impart the full vigor with which these two fighting people accepted the responsibilities asked of them by their party. Both departed from their prepared texts frequently, Mrs. Bass especially to laud Mr. Hallinan's nomination and he to keynote the transcending importance of the Negro people in the fight for American democracy and peace. Acknowledging the failure of white America to comprehend this in the past, Mr. Hallinan said to the many Negro delegates present:

"I do not know how you have survived without us, but of this I am now sure: we cannot survive without you!"

Mrs. Hallinan, who will do much of the campaigning for her husband while he is in prison, told a story of watching with her six sons while a humming bird drove off a hawk seeking to kill its nestlings. She said:

"Our fight does not require a great deal of courage—only that of a humming bird!"

An interim program of activities was voted by the Natl. Committee including stimulated circulation of petitions for a big-power peace conference and Easter Recess visits to home-coming members of Congress on the following demands:

- **Cease Fire in Korea and a Big Power Conference.**
- **Defeat the $7.9 billion Mutual Security Assistance program.**
- **Support House Resolution by Rep. France Bolton (R-Ohio) for investigation of renazification of Germany.**
- **Defeat attempts to re-introduce UMT.**
- **Defeat McCarran-Walter Bill setting up discriminatory immigration restrictions and allowing mass deportations and harassment of foreign-born.**
- **Defeat Concentration Camp Appropriations.**
- **Repeal of Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley Acts.**

SPECIAL BALLOT CAMPAIGN: The three-day meeting adopted a minimum national budget of $332,850 for the campaign through Labor Day, with quotas for 48 states and the District of Columbia. Special campaigns were set in motion to get the party on the ballot in Ohio, Illinois, Massachusetts, West Virginia, North Carolina, Nevada, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Georgia and Florida, where requirements range from "very tough" to prohibitive. Ballot positions in other states are virtually assured.

A national campaign committee was established composed of the members of the nominating committee headed by Vito Marcantonio plus special representatives of labor, farm and youth and the Committee to Elect Negroes to Public Office, set up concurrently with the national committee meeting. The campaign committee was authorized to pick dates and place for a national convention this summer.

See Report to Readers, p. 2

WAR & PEACE

Did Korea force Truman out? 2-party Ike deal hinted

ELECTION-YEAR fevers gripped Washington as, with the Eisenhower drive gathering momentum and the Taft campaign lagging, Truman abruptly read himself out of the Presidential race. The President told party workers the Democratic Convention

"If called, I would not shirk. . . ."

surely "would pick a winner"; but Walter Lippmann, recalling in a column written before the President's announcement (3/31) that "the Democrats like Eisenhower so much they would gladly have nominated him themselves," said that among Democrats "there would not be too much weeping and gnashing of teeth if he won." Against Eisenhower the Democratic Convention

. . . will not be choosing a President but . . . a party leader to keep them together when they go out of office and to help them elect governors and senators and mayors this year.

W. E. Goodwin, head of N.Y. Volunteers for Taft, charged directly that Truman "has wanted Eisenhower all along" and hopes to get both Republican and Democratic nominations for the NATO Commander "with the phony plea of 'unity at the water's edge.' "

PEACE vs. PLAGUE: Unpopularity of the Korean War, with which Truman is identified, was seen as a factor in his decision. Election-year pressures seemed partially responsible for the sudden spate of rumors of an early end to the war emanating last week from Washington (they coincided with European reports of a French effort to end the Indo-China War).

Newsweek, owned by the Harrimans and close to the State Dept., said (3/31) policymakers were preoccupied by "the problem of making concessions to the Reds in Korea." It declared flatly that the U.S. will abandon its opposition to the Soviet Union serving as one of the neutral powers supervising an armistice, and may strengthen its negotiating team in view of criticism of its competence by U.S. and UN officials. Hanson Baldwin (N.Y. **Times**, 3/30) said "the U.S. still had the bear by the tail in Korea and did not know how to let go," but found "a definite possibility of peace—if the Communists want peace."

There was little evidence to back up these reports. In the UN Disarmament Commission Soviet delegate Malik, rejecting the U.S. proposal for an investigation by the Intl. Red Cross Committee (which he called a Swiss national organization), pressed charges of U.S. germ war in Korea, was voted out of order. In Korea, an investigating commission of the Intl. Assn. of Democratic Lawyers reported:

We have received evidence which in our opinion confirms the fact that flies and other insects of a kind hitherto unknown in Korea have been found in the past weeks in many districts under conditions (temperature, congestion, nature of soil, and other factors preceding air raids; planes circling over these districts; finding remnants of containers) which show that these insects were deposited in heaps or en masse from the air. Many of these insects, as established by experts, were infected with cholera, typhus, plague and other contagious diseases. Cholera and plague broke out several days after these insects were found and only in close to proximity to places where they were deposited.

THE POW DEADLOCK: While the U.S. press maintained the charges were ridiculous and disease could not be spread this way, **U.S. News** (3/21) saw

. . . no practical reason why it cannot be done just as the Communists have charged the U.S. with doing it—by dropping diseased animals and insects from planes over wide areas.

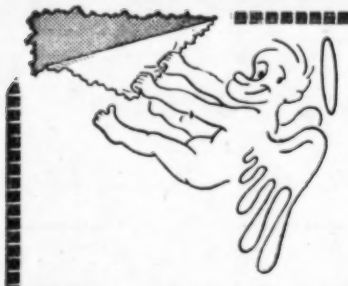
Truce talks remained in a deadlock, with U.S. rejection of the Geneva convention for exchange of all prisoners as the major issue. Peking charged that the U.S. does not want back "those American prisoners who are against the American war of aggression in Korea and may possibly disclose a true picture of it." It said the U.S. was preparing to "incarcerate them in concentration camps."

Tribune Des Nations, Paris

(NBC correspondent Irving R. Levine reported from Tokyo, Chicago **Daily News**, 1/2, that "special officers" were reading POW letters, copying "passages of interest," adding: "Before a GI prisoner will be allowed to leave Korea he must sign a pledge not to discuss with anyone classified aspects of his experience." Melbourne **Herald** correspondent Richard Hughes reported from Tokyo, 1/18, that "allied prisoners will almost certainly not be allowed to meet the press or discuss their experiences until they have been screened . . . no exception will be made even for Maj. Gen. Dean.")

FRANCE WANTS OUT: Although both Secys. Acheson and Lovett hinted broadly to Congress last month that Indo-China might become another Korea, reports of a French effort to end the Indo-China war appeared to have some basis. In the Paris denial of Lovett's assertion that Chinese have

(Continued on Page 4)



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☐ Charming gift box of three colorfully embroidered girls' handkerchiefs.

THE MAIL BAG

The old Woodstock

FRESNO, CALIF.

Regarding the old Woodstock typewriter on which Alger Hiss was jailed, in Alistair Cooke's own book **Generation on Trial**, you will find this paragraph on page 317:

"To rebut the defense's story that the typewriter was in poor shape, Mr. Murphy brought in an FBI typist, who sat in the courtroom and banged out a copy of one of the documents in two or three apparently effortless minutes. Mr. Murphy stood by in triumphant boredom while this old typewriter, with its unreliable roller, its missing knob, the keys that jammed, was expertly played by the FBI. The performance was dramatically pat, but it did not disprove the well-known fact that broken typewriters can be mended."

In the first trial there were a number of witnesses who testified that the keys stuck quite frequently. Something was definitely wrong here! **Carolyn Bagwell**

$uitable

CHICAGO, ILL.

Would like to suggest a subtitle for Whittaker Chambers' book: "I Choose $75,000."

Irving Nebenzahl

Small farmers' woes

GRAND JUNCTION, MICH.

This is the richest country in the world but it has been a struggle to save up this $2 to pay for our sub. Your paper does a pretty good job, but there is a lot more of us that are discriminated against besides the American Negro. How about people like me, a small farmer, 74 years old? Today the "egg man" came. He gave us $28.14 for eggs. About two hours after the feed man came. He took $28.90 for feed.

For some time we have been going in the red. We had a batch of bad feed, some of our chickens died; we sold others to feed the rest and never sold an egg for five weeks. There are a lot of small farmers around here, 40 to 80 acres. Nearly all of them are "working out" — some of them have their wives working, too.

When the bottom falls out of this fake prosperity — what then? Yes, we can sit down and sign the roof off from over our head to the great state of Michigan.

A 100 pounds of feed is just as heavy on my back as when I was 47, our store bill just the same as a young person with a $15 or $20 a day job. Small farmers' days are numbered. We are being choked to death by mass production farms and big money interest. None of the present day farm organizations will save us; big Jim Patton hollering about the small farmer is just wind blowing out of a bag.

How about it, small old farmers?

George H. Smith

How crazy can you get dept.

It is reliably reported here that thousands of Chinese women are committing suicide because under the Communist regime they can choose their own husbands instead of being forced to marry the husbands their parents select for them.

—Indianapolis (Ind.) Star dispatch from Tokyo, Feb. 27.

Free 1-yr. sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Judge Norval K. Harris, Sullivan, Ind.

Bundle of 5

ELMHURST, L. I.

I receive a bundle of five papers every week. It is an amazing offer and gives me the opportunity to spread it wherever I go. I would strongly recommend that you publicize the offer in the GUARDIAN again. Those five copies each week are indispensable in my political work. **Irving Levine**

It all depends . . .

STOCKTON, CALIF.

About to send a Korean journalist back to South Korea to certain execution, our government refuses to send war prisoners back to North Korea because, according to our propaganda, they would be executed. How inconsistent can they be? **George Herbst**

It fizzled

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.

Morgan Beatty, speaking for Alka-Seltzer, was running the Russians down, as usual, March 6. He belittled the ruble, saying that while the Russians value it at 25c, you can pick it up for 10c.

Then he magnified the Russian military budget, saying that it's a wicked thing, the greatest in history. Valuing the ruble as the Russians value it, he said, it amounts to 28 billions.

He forgot to add that, valuing the ruble as he had just valued it, it would amount to 11 billions . . . which compares rather modestly with Truman's military budget request of 52 billions.

I am happy that I don't feel called upon to figure the Russian military budget in 25c rubles and the Russian living standard in 10c rubles. After all, I'm not Morgan Beatty . . . speaking for Alka-Seltzer.

Vernon Ward

Why must they die

FARMERSVILLE, TEX.

Why should Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have to die on a charge of having passed along to [then] an ally of the U. S. a secret which a number of scientists of various nations have since discovered? Does any government deserve to have a monopoly on anything? And can any government rightly claim to be a democracy that entertains a monopoly on such an important source of energy as nuclear fission? Are the scientists to blame for the conversion of nuclear energy to a powerful weapon of destruction? A negative answer is expected of every thinking honest person. **T. L. Higgins**

Dirge

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I wear the mantle of Washington
And Lincoln's pants to boot.
I ball up the talks at Panmunjon
At the mothers of men I hoot.
For "Heartbreak" Ridgway is my name,
For the glory of Dulles I loot,
Pillage and burn Korea and yearn
To bring China under my foot.

Maurice Becker

From "The Price"

Item: Twenty-five million mothers whose sons never came back.

Make religion work

MISHAWAKA, IND.

Church people are still being offered "token" peace movements designed—by leaders who have failed us in the past and are failing us now—not to promote peace concretely but to pacify the people. It's time we quit following leaders who do not hold directly to the line of the teachings of Jesus. Let the Bishops and others who attempt to justify war and killing, let John Foster Dulles, the MacArthurs, the Ridgways, the Trumans go their way to destruction. Let true Christians follow Christ to peace on earth and goodwill toward all men.

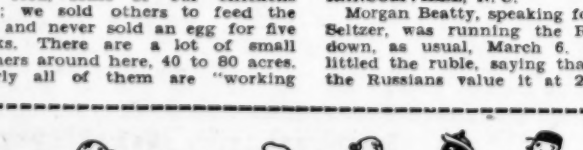
If you feel as I do (I am a member of the Methodist Church) get into your church and start a peace organization with Christ's teachings as your guide. **Geneviev Toth**

Amen!

TOPEKA, KAN.

I have always believed in God and that Christianity can be the answer to every problem. But like many others I have been disappointed in the attitude of the organized church towards peace. It seems to me it is timid when it should be militant and aggressive. The church has been very grateful and loyal to American government.

But now I think the tide is turning. The Kefauver investigations and other evidence of corruption; the attempt to force UMT; the fact that the church has invested so much of love, sacrifice and cash in China, together with the stubbornness of the State Dept. in refusing to follow the advice of Far East experts—all these things combined have provoked much prayer and thoughfulness on the part of church leaders who have always been sincere men. I predict a separation from now on of Church and State Dept. policy. **Helen J. Talbot**



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REORT TO READERS

The Guardian, the campaign and the paper curtain

WE THOUGHT you might like to know how we feel about the President's Saturday night "bombshell." We were not bomb-shelled. We've been around too long, worked on too many newspapers, had our eyes too wide open to be taken in by the journalistic whing-ding that followed the Jackson Day dinner.

We were not moved by Arthur Krock's fat-headed picture in the N. Y. **Times** of Harry Truman reading **Plutarch's Lives** as a background for his decision; we were not stirred to a fever pitch of anxiety by the press' tense description of the reaction of the man in the street in Liechtenstein. We waddled with increasing nausea through the pages of the **Times** last Monday morning—the pictures, the interviews with Bess Truman and Margaret, and the obtuse cliches of every two-bit politician who pretends he can break through the rigged nominations of the old parties.

On page 13 of the **Times**, for example, there were 73 inches of tired biographical material on the Democratic Party hopefuls. And under this pile, scraping the bottom of the page, was a four-inch story about another kind of political activity. The headline said: PROGRESSIVES NOMINATE. It was the story of the meeting of the Progressive Party Natl. Committee in Chicago last week-end at which Mr. Hallinan and Mrs. Bass accepted the nominations for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency.

FOUR INCHES—no more, no less. But what did YOUR home-town paper give the story? Were they as generous, or did they decide that there was no such place as Chicago and that even if there were, no such meeting was ever held there?

Let's face this thing squarely: there's good reason for the blackout on the Progressive Party. The free and easy press of this country is once again engaged in the colossal quadrennial hoax of trying to convince the people of America that they have a choice at the polls between the two major parties. They know that full and fair coverage of the Progressive Party campaign will expose the voters of the nation to an alternative. That alternative is the return to a policy of sanity and peaceful progress. If that alternative catches hold, the atom-bomb-happy generals and aircraft manufacturers and the four-flushers who front for them in Washington will fold up like a gas-filled Arthur Krock.

IT'S NOT going to be easy to break through that reinforced paper curtain. The progressive movement is going to get just as many breaks as we fight for—and no more.

But there is one place where you will get the Chicago story: right here in this issue of the GUARDIAN. And you will keep on getting the rest of the story here. The GUARDIAN is not a by-product of the progressive movement. It is an integral part; it is the link that holds the movement together; it is the fact sheet and the interpreter for the movement.

We've said these things before, but never before have they had such point. We've never missed an issue in three and a half years and we don't intend to—especially in these critical months ahead. But it takes more than determination. No progressive can take the GUARDIAN for granted. Our paper's fight for survival is tied to the fight of all decent America for survival. A victory for one will be a victory for the other. Will you do your share now?

—THE EDITORS

The meaning of Detroit

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Apropos of the recent Un-AAC psychological warfare in Detroit, the fear and suspicion deliberately fostered by it and its results in Ford Local 600, attention must be drawn to two books published by the Govt. Printing Office and obtainable from the Supt. of Documents, Washington, D. C.

Fascism in Action (25c) is an eye-opener to the real purpose of the current hysteria, red-baiting, intimidation and militarism which are characaeristic of fascism and its votaries.

Civil Defense for National Security ($1, later $2), prepared in Oct., 1948, for the late Defense Secy. Forrestal by the Office of Civil Defense Planning, is hard to get at the present time. The object of this "plan for a permanent federal defense agency" is to silence all objectors to war, war scares and war economy from all of which Big Business with the support of the Pentagon's power-crazed inmates may go on indefinitely reaping profits that "cry to heaven for vengeance." It provides for appointment of wardens to police each block who will be expected to "record detailed information and data on the neighborhood and its inhabitants."

The plan recommends provision of detention places where "persons may be detained from the public good until such time as conditions permit their release or circumstances warrant their trial." Movements of citizens will be controlled, every publication and radio station will be used in a thought-control program. Since every major industrial plant will have defense contracts, it stresses the need for govt. supervision of such plants and their workers whose loyalty—i.e., pliability to intimidation—must be above suspicion.

What happens to free labor and free unions under such conditions is left to the imagination of the reader, who now has evidence of what has happened, with the aid of Walter Reuther, to Ford Local 600. **(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy**

THE ACCEPTANCE SPEECHES BY THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Vincent Hallinan: 'We have the guts to fight for our children's lives'

ALMOST 40 years ago Woodrow Wilson, then President of the United States, warned the American people:

"If the government is to tell big business how to run their business, then don't you see that big business men must capture the government in order not to be restrained too much by it?"

In 1940, President Franklin Roosevelt was forced to tell the people:

"The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That in essence is fascism."

Recently columnist Joseph Alsop wrote:

In the Congress . . . any informed observer nowadays can show you rows of senators whose votes are controlled when the chips are down by the banks, the public utilities, the mining and mineral interests and other big business groupings which play big parts in state politics. There is even a soft drink company which has a senator.

When you want to know what the present government is up to, you only

Leo Tanenbaum

have to ask yourself what are the interests of big business and you have the answer.

The big ambition of American big business at this moment is to build an empire. They have created world runaway shops subsidized by American taxpayers. Their investments in Japanese and German industry are flooding world markets with cheap goods. We subsidize the rebuilding of Japan and Germany—Germany, for instance, is the only nation in Europe which did not have to cut its social services—only because American taxpayers were footing the bill. And then the cheap German and Japanese goods flood world markets—and create a slump, unemployment and a crisis in France, in Belgium, and in Britain. And then the American taxpayer is asked to pay out money to keep Britain and France and Belgium from declaring bankruptcy.

THE American people are a good and a brave people and they do not like imperialism. Therefore no politician dares advocate imperialism openly—so they mask it under sanctimonious phrases like "containing communism" and "raising the standards of backward peoples," much as England "carried the white man's burden" in Asia and Africa. Moreover, to justify the arms and armies required for this, some powerful enemy has to be invented; and we thus see the Soviet Union year after year accused of being ready to invade our shores and take over our nation, a fantastic tale which should not deceive a child—and by the way, which no responsible general or statesman believes.

Why are these tales necessary? They are necessary because the American people are a good and brave people. They do not want war, they do not want to impose imperialism on anyone or impose slavery on anyone. They fought a great revolutionary war to rescue themselves from colonialism and a great civil war to end slavery within their own borders; it is therefore essential to delude them with reams upon reams of lies, put out either by the propaganda instrumentalities of big business or by some of the 3,700 professional storytellers who are now employed by the American government as so-called "public relations men" to whom we taxpayers paid 17 million dollars a year for the privilege of being deceived by them.

Moreover, the armaments program is bringing us to financial ruin as it has now brought France and England to that situation. France is bankrupt. British bonds are selling at 60c on the dollar. Now Roy Blough, one of the President's advisers, testified before a congressional committee a few days ago that our own bonds are kept at 96c for each dollar only because the government was rigging the market.

The only hope of saving our economy and restoring our security and standard of living is to end once and for all and now the armaments program, to terminate the cold war with the Soviet Union and the hot one with Korea, and return our men home to useful tasks.

WHEN I was offered the nomination of the PP, I had considerable qualms about my qualifications for accepting it. But after looking over this mess, I have lost what modesty I have had in the matter.

The PP has many decent and humane planks in its platform and none that any honest person cannot fully endorse. It recognizes that the Negro as a citizen has been fighting for 80 years against the same forces that are now assailing the remainder of American labor; that the exploitation and debasement which has been visited upon him is now confronting his white brother; that the white worker is now to be denied the right to organize and to strike, that his wages will henceforth be fixed by wage stabilization boards and Taft-Hartley committees dominated by the representatives of his employer, just as the Negro has been denied the right to organize and to defend the fruits of his labor; that our civil rights are being torn from us, that the Constitution has been made a scrap of paper as futile to protect as a sheet of parchment stretched in front of a tank—and that this would not have happened if long ago we had fought to protect the rights of the Negro.

WE stand for peace instead of war—for good relations with every country on earth—for freedom from political oppression—for public housing and works and old age payments instead of waste of money on war and armaments.

Above all, we are the only party whose success will guarantee that one day you will not stand by a sealed coffin

which has been shipped home to you from some distant battlefield, and which you are told contains the scraps and remnants of your child—and you would not then feel that this would not have happened if his mother and father had had guts enough to fight for his right to live.

And with that dilemma confronting the American people, I cannot do otherwise than to accept the honor you have proffered me, to lift up the standard presented to me, and to advance with you.

Charlotta Bass: 'It is the call of all my people and to my people'

FOR the first time in the history of this nation a political party has chosen a Negro woman for the second highest office in the land.

It is a great honor to be chosen as a pioneer, and a great responsibility. But I am strengthened by thousands on thousands of pioneers who stand by my side and look over my shoulder: those who have led the fight for freedom—those who led the fight for women's rights—those who have been in the front line fighting for peace and justice and equality everywhere. How they must rejoice in this great understanding which here joins the cause of peace and freedom.

These pioneers, the living and the dead, men and women, black and white, give me strength and a new sense of dedication.

I shall tell you how I come to stand here. I am a Negro woman. My people

Leo Tanenbaum

came before the Mayflower. I am more concerned with what is happening to my people in my country than war. We have lived through two wars and seen their promises turn to bitter ashes.

FOR 40 years I have been a working editor and publisher of the oldest Negro newspaper in the West. During those 40 years I stood on a watch tower, watching the tide of racial hatred and bigotry rising against my people and against all people who believe the Constitution is something more than a piece of yellowed paper to be shut off in a glass cage in the archives.

I have stood watch over a home to protect a Negro family against the outrages of the Ku Klux Klan. And I have fought the brazen attempts to drive Negroes from their homes under restrictive covenants. I have challenged the great corporations which extort huge profits from my people, and forced them to employ Negroes in their plants. I have stormed city councils and state legislatures and the halls of Congress demanding real representation for my people.

As I stand here on this platform presenting the cause of the Progressive Party, I cannot help but hark back to the 30 years I spent in the Republican Party as an active member. . . . As a member of the great elephant party, I could not see the light of hope shining in the distance, until one day the news flashed across the nation that a new party was born.

HERE in this party was the political home for me and for my people. Here no one handed me a ready-made program from the back door. Here I could sit at the head of the table as a founding member, write my own program, a program for me and my people, that came from us. In that great founding convention in Philadelphia in 1948 we had crossed the Jordan. There we shared in the labor of building a platform stone by stone, choosing candidates, creating a new political party—as equals.

Now perhaps I could retire. I had helped to found a home for my people. I looked forward to a rest after 40 years of struggle.

But could I retire when I saw that slavery had been abolished but not destroyed; that democracy had been won in World War I, but not for my people; that fascism had been wiped out in World War II, only to take roots in my own country where it blossomed and bloomed and sent forth its fruits to poison the land my people had fought to preserve!

. . . Where were the leaders of my nation—yes, my nation, for God knows my whole ambition is to see and make my nation the best in the world—where were these great leaders when these things happened?

To retire meant to leave this world to these people who carried oppression to Africa, to Asia, who made profits from oppression in my own land. To retire meant to leave the field to evil.

THIS is what we fight against. We fight to live. We want the $65 billion that goes for death to go to build a new life. Those billions could lift the wages of my people, give them jobs, give education and training and new hope to our youth, free our sharecroppers, build new hospitals and medical centers. The $8 billion being spent to rearm Europe and crush Asia could rehouse all my people living in the ghettos of Chicago and New York and every large city in the nation.

We fight that all people shall live. We fight to send our money to end colonialism for the colored peoples of the world, not perpetuate it in Malan's South Africa, Churchill's Malaya, French Indo-China and the Middle East.

Can you conceive of the party of Taft and Eisenhower and MacArthur and McCarthy and the big corporations, calling a Negro woman to lead the good fight in 1952? Can you see the party of Truman, of Russell of Georgia, of Rankin of Mississippi, of Byrnes of South Carolina, of Acheson, naming a Negro woman to lead the fight against enslavement?

I am stirred by the responsibility that you have put upon me. I am proud that I am the choice of the leaders of my own people and leaders of all those who understand how deeply the fight for peace is one and indivisible with the fight for Negro equality.

AND I am impelled to accept this call, for it is the call of all my people and call to my people. Frederick Douglass would rejoice, for he fought not only slavery but the oppression of women.

I make this pledge to my people, the dead and the living—to all Americans, black and white. I will not retire nor will I retreat, not one inch, so long as God gives me vision to see what is happening and strength to fight for the things I know are right. For I know that my kingdom, my people's kingdom, and the kingdom of all the peoples of all the world, is not beyond the skies, the moon and the stars, but right here at our feet.

I accept this great honor. I give you as my slogan in this campaign—**"Let my people go."**

Afro-American, Baltimore

It does make a difference!

French are seeking Indo-China peace

(Continued from Page 1)

crossed into Indo-China, R. H. Stackford (**World-Telegram,** 3/26) saw French fear that the statement "would upset some other more important diplomatic maneuvre"—in his view, "a behind-the-scenes move to end the Indo-China war by armistice, deal or by cease-fire." There is, he added, "a growing group in France, including military men, which wants to throw in the sponge and get out of Indo-China." But Washington, which has poured more than half a billion dollars into Indo-China, was strongly opposed. **U. S. News** (4/4) said U. S. sea and air power would be sent to Indo-China if there were a Chinese invasion.

Whatever the meaning of the Korea and Indo-China peace rumors, there was behind them what Hanson Baldwin (**N. Y. Times,** 3/27) called

. . . the growing impatience of both U. S. and French public opinion expressed in the increasingly heard demand that we "get out" of Korea and Indo-China.

In the U. S. the commercial press ran an increasing number of readers' letters criticizing Washington's foreign policy, demanding peace in Korea. The Patterson (N. J.) **Call,** for example, following an editorial calling on its readers "to speak up and voice our opinion publicly," was swamped with peace letters mainly from mothers and wives, some with phone numbers and addresses so others could get in touch with them. From the president of one of the five biggest AFL organizations from which all leftist leaders have been purged—Hugo Ernst, Hotel & Restaurant Employees & Bartenders Intl. Union—came last week an appeal to the labor movement to lead the fight to prevent World War III, end the Korean War, and get a big-power conference on disarmament.

"CURBING LABOR'S POWER": In face of the manifest unpopularity of its policies and militant stirrings in labor's rank and file, Washington was moving toward a "get tougher" policy with its own people. Defense Mobilizer Wilson's handling of the steel dispute suggested another attempted step toward fulfillment of his plan "to curb labor's power" secretly outlined to top industrialists, Sept. 20, 1950, when he was still General Electric president. The plan aimed to "reduce the cost of labor" by driving down wages, increasing hours of work, building new plants more mechanized to "save manpower," dispersed and small to prevent concentrated union strength. (**CIO News,** Dec. 31, pointed out that the mobilization program has since been largely patterned on this plan.)

Since Nov. 27 Philip Murray's Steel Workers have sought a contract. Three times they postponed a strike at government demand. Last month the Wage Stabilization Board recommended a formula which moneywise gave the union about half what it asked, bypassed most other demands: a 13.7c average hourly increase for 1952 plus another 4.75c in paid holidays, higher rates for second and third shifts, liberalized vacations, the 1953 hourly increase limited to 2½c. Wilson's attack on the WSB formula as a threat to the stabilization program had to be measured against these facts: the steel union was behind other basic industry

unions in not having had these "fringe" benefits; the increase did not even make up for the cost-of-living increase allowed under the board's cost-of-living formula (one official admitted the formula would have permitted a 16c hourly increase this year); other unions had got bigger increases without creating any stir.

WILSON WALKS; ENTER IKE: The union—in the interests of national defense, it said—accepted the board's recommendation; the industry rejected it, demanding first a $6-a-ton increase to compensate, then, after Wilson's statement, $12. The President at first appeared to agree with Wilson; papers reported steel would get a $5-a-ton increase. But Economic Stabilizer Putnam and Price Stabilizer Arnall, who said the industry could meet the increased wage cost with little, if any, price increase, convinced the President.

Wilson then resigned, the President accepting the resignation with a reference to the "extraordinarily heavy levels" of steel industry profits. The strike was now scheduled for April 8; and as business journals had earlier reported, if it occurred it would prove to be essentially a strike for a price increase for the industry, as was the case with the 1946 steel strike.

The threat of rougher times for labor and the mild New Deal reforms for which it was largely responsible was indicated in a 1950 interview given by Eisenhower to **U. S. News** and published March 14. Declaring that "we have drifted too far to the so-called left," Eisenhower attacked "socialism" and "statism" (Republican terminology for New Deal reforms) and called "subversive" those "elements" that "want to provoke labor and management into more and more conflicts." If labor didn't get the point, big business did.

(Continued on following page)

Behind the crisis in Malan's South Africa: 'little short of genocide'

By Kumar Goshal

THE week beginning next Sunday may well mark a turning point in the history of South Africa. April 6 has been set aside by the government of Premier Daniel F. Malan as the day celebrating the tercentenary of the first white settlers' arrival in South Africa. And that is also the day chosen by Africans, Indians and other Asians, and the Colored (of mixed descent) people, to launch a mass civil-disobedience movement against which Malan has promised to take "stern measures."

In their homeland the 8½ million Africans are virtual slaves of 2½ million whites—forced to work for next to nothing on the farms of white men who have corraled them into Reserves, and in diamond and gold mines and secondary industries producing fortunes for domestic and foreign owners. In the cities they have been herded into filthy, overcrowded ghettos, where they are confined like animals from sun-down to sun-up. Their freedom of movement has been circumscribed by forcing them to carry more than a dozen kinds of passes. After a recent tour of South Africa, Basil Davidson of the London **New Statesman & Nation** called the treatment of the Africans "little short of genocide."

The third of a million Indians, whose ancestors were lured to South Africa by the white rulers as indentured laborers, and the one million Colored people, have fared little better.

ENTER MORGAN: Exploitation of the Africans reached a new peak of mercilessness since the end of World War II. Finding in South Africa's large reserve of cheap and controlled labor a "favorable climate" for safe investment, U.S. firms like Firestone, Goodyear, General Electric, General Motors, Standard Oil, ALCOA, Newmont Mining (of which James Byrnes is a director), have invested heavily there and are reaping huge profits. Kennecott Copper has recently made an additional investment of over $8 million in South African gold mines.

The suffering of non-white South Africans has grown intolerable since the Nationalist government of Hitler-admiring Dr. Malan came to power in 1948 on the basis of **Apartheid**—systematic separation and segregation of different non-white groups. One Nationalist official said (**Time,** Sept. 3, 1951):

"We aim to segregate them completely, living as far away from us as possible. . . . Then, if there's trouble, we know where to drop the bombs."

By passing a series of legislative measures like the Group Areas, Bantu Authorities, Separate Representation of Voters, Mixed Marriages and Suppression of Communism Acts (a "Communist" is one who disagrees with the Nationalists), the Native Law Amendment Act and the Immorality Amendment Act—and by prosecuting the progressive newspaper **Guardian**—the Malan government is making a determined effort to crush resistance permanently and prevent non-white unity.

LOVE FROM WASHINGTON: In Hitler style Malan has also organized his own Storm Troopers, the Skietcommandos. Besides facilitating the development of U.S. vested interests in South Africa, his government has sought to bolster its strength by securing U.S. government loans as one of America's "freedom-loving, democratic" allies.

Protests in the United Nations by India and Pakistan have been futile: the Malan government has thumbed its nose at UN decisions, even when backed by the Intl. Court of Justice, as in the judgment against the Union of South Africa's annexation of the mandated territory of Southwest Africa. The U. S. and its allies have, by and large, given either active or tacit support to Malan in the UN.

At home, Malan is now attempting to emasculate the Supreme Court because the latter has declared unconstitutional the Separate Registration of Voters Act by which Colored voters were removed from the common electoral roll.

THE STRUGGLE: The threat of annihilation has brought remarkable unity to the various non-white South African groups. Last December, at the Bloemfontein conference, the African Natl. Congress—South Africa's most representative African organization—endorsed the plan for mass action against repressive laws submitted by the previously-set up Joint Planning Council composed of representatives of ANC, the South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Council of the Cape Colored. On Jan. 21, 1952, the ANC, led by Dr. J. S. Moroka, wrote to Malan calling for repeal of the repressive Acts and saying in part:

The cumulative effect this legislation has is to crush the National Organization of the oppressed people; . . . to create a reservoir of cheap labor for the farms and the gold mines; to prevent the unity and development of the African people. . . The struggle which our people are about to begin is not directed against any race or national group, but against the unjust laws which keep in perpetual subjection and misery vast sections fo the population. . . We have the full support and sympathy of all enlightened and honest men and women, black and white, in our country and across the seas.

To this appeal Malan replied:

The Government will make full use of the machinery at its disposal [to deal with the demonstrations].

ALL ARE TOGETHER: On Feb. 11 the ANC leaders again wrote to Malan, saying in part:

With reference to the campaign of mass action which the African Natl. Congress intends to launch, we would point out that as a defenseless and voteless people, we have explored other channels without success. The African people are left with no alternative but to embark upon the campaign referred to above.

And on Feb. 20 the South African Indian Congress, led by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, wrote to Malan:

We have been instructed to convey to you the full support of the South African Indian Congress to the call made upon your Government by the African Natl. Congress for the repeal of the above-mentioned Acts, failing which the South African Indian Congress will participate with the ANC in holding protest meetings and demonstrations on the 6th day of April, 1952, as a prelude to the implementation of the Plan for the Defiance of Unjust Laws.

THE WORLD WATCHES: Since then the Malan government's attempt to break the unity of the non-white groups by arresting Dr. Dadoo failed. Manilal Gandhi, son of the late Mahatma Gandhi, completed a 16-day fast in preparation for civil disobedience. The government has raised the usual cry of "communism," "subversive acts," against the leaders of the campaign, but the non-whites remain united and determined.

Sympathetic demonstrations are being organized in other parts of Africa as well as in the U. S. Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson has suggested that American progressives all join

. . . in observing two minutes of silence on Sunday, April 6, at noon, in commemoration and support of our African brothers and sisters in South Africa in their campaign for freedom.

The eyes of genuinely freedom-loving people everywhere will be focused on South Africa this month.

• Kumar Goshal, author and lecturer (speaking in the Middle West again this month), is a member of the board of the Council on African Affairs.

Tell them

In view of the events of world significance about to take place in South Africa, the Council on African Affairs has urged individuals and organizations in the U. S. to send:

• Messages of support to Dr. J. S. Moroka, Pres.-Gen., African Natl. Congress, Box 9207, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

• Messages and resolutions supporting the demands of the African, Colored and Indian peoples in S. Africa to the Embassy of the Union of S. Africa, Washington, D. C.

AFRICANS LINE UP FOR PASSES INTO JOHANNESBURG

Without their service contracts they are not allowed into the city. Sometimes they waste two days waiting for them.

THE INTER-AMERICAN CONGRESS IN MONTEVIDEO

The peace conference that wasn't . . . but was

By Elmer Bendiner
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

BUENOS AIRES (March 21)
(Delayed for security reasons)

ONE AFTERNOON last week piano music sounded gaily in a Montevideo living room. Some 50 men and women chatted; a few casually watched from doors and windows. It was a fiesta when it had to be; when it could it turned itself into a formal meeting.

It was the plenary session of the American Inter-Continental Conference for Peace—banned in Chile, Brazil, Uruguay—convening illegally under the noses of police who were watching every likely meeting place.

Only a few of each of the eight nations' delegations were permitted to come. They were driven to the meeting, the location of which was a secret. The presiding committee sat at a table in a room with the blinds tightly drawn. Delegates spread about the room and up the stairway. Among them were poets, writers, statesmen, farmers and workers.

IT CANNOT BE HALTED: Maria Rosa Oliver of Argentina, secretary of the conference, distinguished writer, veteran peace fighter, sat in a wheel chair (she is lame) and read the report on organization. She said:

> "Nothing can stop the world of peace. . . . In reality there is not a single plan of peace. There must be many plans."

Then came reports of the delegations. The Guatemalans were held up at Buenos Aires by Argentine police. Canadians and Mexicans had no visas and could not leave their countries. Peruvians and Ecuadorians, who figured largely in the sponsoring group, mysteriously failed to arrive or send a message; this testified to the tight censorship in those countries. In all there were delegations from Bolivia, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay and the U.S. (One Guatemalan delegate escaped the police at Buenos Aires and came later.)

OIL AND DEATH: The leader of the Brazilian delegation, Joao Ferreira Sampaio, a justice of the Supreme Court of Rio Grande do Sul, said:

> "Our peoples, in common with those of the rest of the world, denounce the policy of war as jeopardizing the life and the centuries-old culture, material and spiritual values of the nations, and as an attack on everything precious to civilization and man."

Brig. Gen. Saa Benavides of Brazil said: "Men are dead in Brazil because of the oil question." To him peace meant oil and the right of Brazilians to their own resources. (As he spoke word came of flaring incidents and a martial alert along the Brazilian coast as popular anger mounted against the treaty with the U.S.)

PEACE BREAKS OUT IN THE OPEN IN MONTEVIDEO
Saturday night in the plaza—part of the crowd of 5,000.

Efraim Morel of Paraguay told how peace, an illegal word, was whispered from door to door in his country, how 24,000 signatures were gathered under the terror. To him peace meant the right of Paraguayans to their own cotton (now commandeered by the U.S. for war purposes); the right to their own food at a time when people starve (every day food is shipped out in U.S. refrigerated planes by U.S. companies); a chance to curb leprosy (incidence in Paraguay is second only to that of French Guiana); a guarantee of freedom in one of the most tightly-held dictatorships operating in the Americas under the guidance of a U.S. military mission.

NO SOLDIERS FOR KOREA: Argentine delegates told how 3,200,000 signatures were gathered for a peace pact in a land where peace canvassers, when caught, are tortured; of the demonstration by 50,000 workers in Rosario, near Buenos Aires, after Peron had committed the country to support the Korean war. Peron backed down, declared he would consult the people before sending a soldier.

Enamorada Cuesta of Puerto Rico, a few months out of prison, told what war has meant to Puerto Rico—the dead and the thousands made homeless to clear the way for U.S. bases and maneuvers.

Lenora Aguiar Vasquez, 26-year old lawyer of Argentina, a member of the Women's Intl. Democratic Federation Commission that toured North Korea, told what she had seen:

> "This is not war. It is the extermination of every living, growing thing. In places where there could be no industry, no military target, nothing a soldier could use, there is now devastation. . . . We saw children destroyed at their mother's breasts, children of 11 who had been raped. Defenseless villages have been machine-gunned. The women of Korea no longer raise the white flag in Korea for they expect no clemency. . . . What has happened to so quickly turn American young men into monsters?"

The blame did not rest solely on North Americans, she said; the Latin American bloc in the UN, powerful enough to demand an end to the war, stood silently by.

THE FIESTA GOES ON: Mrs. Mary Russak, head of the U.S. delegation, assessed the strength and weakness of the peace movement there. When she sat down there was no applause because of the police in the area; but delegates rose to shake her hand.

Word came then that the police were gathering. A delegate sat down at the piano; plates of food were passed around; some delegates danced. Notes on the conference were gathered together and hidden. In small groups the fiesta broke up, each group was driven swiftly away in the dark night.

On a totally different level the fight to hold the conference openly was gaining headway. Dockworkers and other trade unionists were marching through the streets calling for the conference's full rights. The newspapers were demanding repeal of the ban (while denouncing the conference). Delegations appeared at the offices of the "nine old men" who govern the country as the Council of State.

OUT IN THE OPEN: By the week-end the heat was so strong on the government that the conference all but came into the open. A closing mass meeting had been scheduled for Saturday night. After the ban the Uruguayan Peace Council took over the auspices and won its permit—on condition that no nation (meaning the U.S.) be attacked by name.

That night in the plaza at the Avenues Agraciada and Colonia floodlights lit a long wooden platform and above it a blue-and-white sign reading simply: "PAZ." At one end of the plaza there is a huge electrical sign for General Electric; at the other the U.S. Embassy. At 10:30, when the crowd numbered 5,000 and the loudspeaker blared music, the lights could be seen still burning brightly in the Embassy.

Scores of policemen hedged in the crowd, their officers sporting clanking swords. But they made no move against the peacemakers. Speakers brought cheers when they laid blame for the ban not on the Uruguayan police or government but on "a power whose name we cannot mention."

When Lorraine Hansberry, associate editor of **Freedom,** spoke and then presented, as the U.S. delegation's gift, a taped recording of Paul Robeson's greetings, the people shouted: "Viva Robeson." (People in the street stopped Miss Hansberry and shook her hand to show their solidarity with Negro Americans.)

IT WASN'T BUT IT WAS: The meeting was generally regarded as a victory over the efforts of the U.S. and compliant governments to suppress it. The pro-government paper **El Plata** in an article entitled "The Conference that Wasn't" wrote:

> But the conference that "wasn't" . . . was, and constituted a triumph for its organizers who doubtless have a special eyesight which permits them to see the invisible.

El Plata recalled previous peace conferences including the one at New York's Waldorf Astoria, and commented:

> To ban the Congress which was to have been held in Montevideo, a prohibition which was certainly dictated by consideration not of Russia but the U.S., makes us more royalist than the king, prohibiting what the U.S. has permitted.

On Friday, in Uruguay's Congress, 48 out of 64 deputies were ready to question the government minister responsible for the ban that backfired. The government minister didn't show up.

The conference made these plans:

- An inter-continental campaign for a five-power pact.
- Continuing contact by committees of correspondence among peace groups in all the Americas.
- An Intercontinental conference in defense of American culture in Santiago, Chile, next October.
- Intercontinental conferences, as yet without date, on labor, women, youth.

(Continued from preceding page)

D. E. Ackers, pres. of Kansas Power & Light and the general's long-time friend, said that Eisenhower

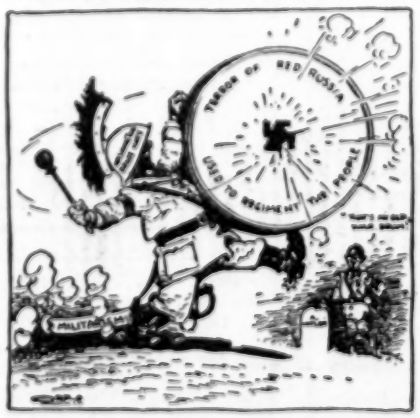
> . . . would accord the private utility business that treatment to which it has been entitled during the past 20 years and didn't get. (Journal of Commerce, Mar. 27).

GRUENTHER & THE HOAX: Eisenhower remained in Paris, still avoiding clear statements on any issue. To testify on foreign aid he sent his Chief of Staff Gruenther, who—while supporting the program in general—was so vague that the N.Y. **Daily News** (3/26) complained "the fog over Ike is just about as thick as before." Gruenther, however, made these assertions:

- "War is not imminent."
- "In my mind there is no question that there isn't going to be a war."
- "I do not think it is ever going to come."
- "I do not subscribe to the idea that war is inevitable in any shape or form."

Gruenther thus joined the long list of U.S. military and civilian leaders who have inadvertently revealed that the "danger of Russian aggression" used to justify the war policy is a hoax. The Chicago **Tribune** (3/30) commented:

> From all this it may be surmised that if Russia did not exist it would be necessary for Truman and Acheson to invent her. The Muscovites are the most convenient pretext that could be devised for . . . keeping the inflation going, and thus maintaining the appearance of prosperity.



Salt Lake Tribune
Beating it for all it's worth

Germany—the Soviet note

GRUENTHER'S admission came at an embarrassing moment when Washington faced some of its most difficult problems since the cold war: the renewed Soviet drive for unity and neutraliziation of Germany; economic troubles throughout its domain coincident with the renewed Soviet effort for normalization of trade; mounting trouble in the colonial world.

The March 10 Soviet note proposing all-German elections and a four-power conference to pave the way for a German peace treaty, and especially "the reaction it's caused in Germany, Britain and France," had Washington "really scared" according to the **Wall St. Journal** (3/26). The paper said Truman's advisers fear that at best the proposal "will enivitably delay a European Army and "could mean the collapse of Western defense plans." It has split the U.S. from Britain and France who "are inclined to take it as a chance of a deal with the Russians that could lead away from war." Washington fears four-power talks "could lead to a psychological letdown like the one in Korea," and "getting back into the rearmament swing would be difficult."

"DREARY AND TIMID": Washington withheld the text of the Soviet note for 15 days and during that time "misrepresented the contents" (Dorothy Thompson, Chicago **Daily News,** 3/21). The Western reply, March 25, said in sum that the West would not negotiate since it was going ahead to arm Germany as part of its anti-Soviet coalition. It set these conditions to four power talks:

- Investigation by the UN Commission (headed by a man who taught at Berlin University during World War II and is accused by East Germans of having been a Nazi spy) to assure "free elections." The carrying out of such elections.
- Solution of such fundamental questions as Germany's eastern frontiers (indicating U.S. support for return to Germany of land given Poland and Russia at Potsdam).
- Assurance of Germany's right to enter any coalition it liked.

The conditions spelled rejection, although the note tried in deference to Britain and France to give the appearance of holding the door open for further negotiations. Walter Lippmann, who called it "a dreary and timid little affair" (3/27), found its reference to the eastern frontiers "ill-considered" and to Potsdam, inaccurate. He pointed out that in the Potsdam protocol both Britain and the U.S. pledged to support transfer of Koenigsberg and East Prussia to the Soviet Union and that only in the case of the territories placed under Polish administration was

(Continued on following page)

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"the final delimitation" to be left to the peace treaty.

DISCOMBOBULATION: Lippmann explained that U.S. strategy is to present the German people, who are opposed to rearmament, with "an accomplished fact" before they have a chance to vote in August, 1953. He thought U.S. insistence on free elections foolish since the Russians might well call the U.S. bluff and elections "would discombobulate completely the whole Adenauer policy of integration with the West." Many Allied and German officials in Bonn agreed that Moscow might consent to elections under international control, resulting in the certain downfall of the Adenauer government.

West Germany did not react encouragingly for Washington: the Western reply was criticized by the Social Democrats, by members of Adenauer's own party and cabinet, by a broad section of the press. The N.Y. **Times'** Drew Middleton (3/30) reported that

> **. . . the whole product of four years of allied policy and two and a half years of Federal government policy may be in the balance before summer comes.**

Businessmen in Moscow

WITH much of the Western and colonial world facing grave economic problems—some the direct result of the capitalist blockade of the socialist world — the Intl. Economic Conference, one of whose aims is to promote East-West trade, was scheduled to meet in Moscow this week. Some 450 delegates were headed for Moscow—roughly, 60 from the U.S., Britain and Canada; 80 from West Europe; 50 from Latin America; 25 from Scandinavia; 25, Soviet Union; 25, China; 50, Eastern Europe; 50 from India, Japan and Southeast Asia. Some five UN representatives invited did not accept although Gunnar Myrdal, head of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, recently called East-West trade the "No. 1 objective of Europe."

With political issues banned, the conference will discuss concrete economic problems. It has roused especially wide response in France (whose Lyon silk industry was recently saved by Russian orders); in W. Germany, lured by eastern markets for its engineering exports; in Britain, where last week Mrs. Barbara Castle, Bevanite on the Labour Party executive, urged the government to lift the ban on machine-tool export to Russia as an inducement to Soviet purchases from Britain's depressed textile industry. The conference's initiating committee said it had received a letter from the **Wall St. Journal,** dated Feb. 4, declaring that many U.S. businessmen were interested in every effort to develop and resume East-West trade.

CALENDAR

Chicago

THE ROAD TO HERESY ON THE CAMPUS. Hear Prof. Dirk Struik speak at A.S.P. Cultural Center, 946 N. Clark, Fri., April 4, 8 p.m. Donation: $1.

APRIL 5—"BALLOT BOX REVUE" and Dance (World Premiere). Help kick off Illinois PP '52 Ballot fight. Show starts at 9 p.m. Band, food, refreshments. $1 in advance, $1.25 at door. UE Hall, 37 S. Ashland Blvd. Auspices: Illinois PP, 166 W. Washington St.

FILM FORUM MOVIE SHOWINGS. Best films from U.S.S.R. every Friday evening, 8:15 p.m., at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago, and every Sunday, 7 p.m., at ASP Hall, 946a N. Clark. Showing Fri., April 11, and Sun., April 13: **"SPRING,"** delightful recent Soviet comedy involving mixup in identities of lady scientist and actress plus Polish documentary **"MANUAL ARTS."**

San Francisco

Premiere: **THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM.** Buddy Green with Calif. Labor School Chorus. Dramatic readings of Langston Hughes, Pablo Neruda, Nazim Hikmet and freedom songs of the world. Fri., April 11, 8 p.m. Adm. 75c. Calif. Labor School, 321 Divisadero.

S. F. CHAPTER, ARTS, SCIENCES & PROFESSIONS, presents its 2nd monthly Forum. Speaker — Sidney Rogers, Wed., April 9, 8 p.m., at 1561 Fillmore St. nr. Geary. Donation 50c.

ROUNDTABLE CRITIQUE OF SPARTACUS. Audience discussion invited. Sun., April 13, 7 p.m. Adm. 35c. Dessert and coffee. Calif. Labor School, 321 Divisadero.

Los Angeles

TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED with discussion in town meeting tradition. MARTIN HALL, every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4183. Don.: 60c.

THE U.S. AND WESTERN EUROPE: 8th lecture in 15-week Seminar series by **MARTIN HALL.** Thursday, April 10, 8:15 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 8th St., east of Vermont. Admission: 60c.

RECEPTION FOR DIAMOND KIMM & FANIA BERNSTEIN. Sat., April 12, 8:30 p.m. City Terrace Cultural Club, 3875 City Terr. Dr. Entertainment. Dancing. Proceeds to L.A. Comm. for Protection of Foreign Bn.

New York

REMINDER: GUARDIAN THEATER NIGHT Mon., April 28th. "Flight Into Egypt" with Paul Lukas, Gusti Huber, Paul Mann, Zero Mostel. Orch. $10, $8. Balc. $9, $8, $7, $6. 17 Murray St., N.Y. 7. WO 4-1750.

AN ART EXHIBIT SPONSORED by American Veterans for Peace, through April 6, 2-10 p.m., at 77 Fifth Av. Refreshments, Forum, Dramatics. Contribution: 25c.

Portland, Ore.

VISITORS WELCOME—every Monday evening, 7 to 9 p.m. at Progressive Party offices, 322 Davis Building, Portland.

CLASSIFIED

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge $2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

General

BEAUTIFIES, CONDITIONS HAIR. Gives that natural lustrous sheen. Both men and women use as hair groomer. Waves and curls. Avoid dry-scalp baldness. Excellent face cream, hand softener. Highly refined, extremely pure lanolin. $1.75 prepaid for 1 year's supply. Irving Samuels, 32 West 74th St., N. Y. 23.

WANTED: Couple to assist on dairy and poultry farm. Modern conveniences. For information, write: Ed Cooke, Van Etten, N. Y.

IRISH TWEEDS AND BLANKETS: Such beautiful ones now arriving. Wish you could see chair and sofa just upholstered therein! And tailored garments. SCOTTISH TARTANS, too. Buy direct from U.S. Hdqs. AVOCA HANDWEAVERS, Putney, Vt. Descriptive circular.

PROGRESSIVE TEACHER WILL PROVIDE wonderful summer for 3 or 4 children in nearby Conn. farmhouse: old swimming hole, beautiful lake, farm animals to visit, berry picking. General program of camp & vacation interests. June 30—after Labor Day. Age 7-11, $25 per week. Write to Penny Holzka, 233 E. 124th St., N. Y. C.

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Niemoeller finds 'most hopeful' trend

ENDING a five-week U.S. tour supervised by the World Council of Churches, in which he spoke before over 70 (mostly church) gatherings in 12 states, Rev. Martin Niemoeller flew home to West Germany last week. The tour of the noted Protestant leader who spent eight years in Nazi concentration camps—now devoted to the cause of peace between West and East—received little publicity in a press maintaining the picture of a U.S. set against any understanding with the socialist world. Said Niemoeller to Albert E. Kahn who interviewed him for the GUARDIAN:

"I have often said that newspapers do not reflect public opinion as much as they seek to shape it. . . . In fact, I feel a most hopeful trend developing in this country since I was here a year ago. The belief seemed widespread then that war was inevitable, that Washington's policies could not be changed and were infallible. Now I find no such sense of self-righteousness or infallibity: more and more Americans are saying policy changes can and should be made, that there must be a way of peaceably settling differences between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Of hundreds of letters I received while here, only one said America cannot have peace with Russia."

Expressing his personal opinion of the possibility of U.S.-U.S.S.R. coexistence under their present systems, he said:

"It is nonsense to say the whole world must be governed by one set of principles, either capitalist or communist. I myself am neither a capitalist nor a communist, neither a westerner nor an easterner. My home is in what is called the West—but the East is Germany's neighbor, and if the Germans are to live in peace, they must live in peace with their neighbor. Distrust and suspicion are the great barrier to settlement. That is why I believe international peace parleys are so important."

PEACE & COMMON SENSE: On the concerted press-radio efforts to brand all peace campaigners as quotation-mark subversives, Niemoeller said the same was true in Germany:

"There are those who say the Communists are our opponents and we cannot work with them. Of course this is ridiculous: there is no sense in talking about peace unless it is peace with your so-called opponents. To say you cannot have peace with the Communists is to say you cannot have peace at all. The fact is you cannot have a real peace movement unless Communists are part of it."

Niemoeller said his recent visit to Moscow was made

". . . as a Christian. I want no part in the un-Christian and anti-Christian attitude which brands the Russians as sinners. . . . It is not for me to pass judgment on which of us are sinners. All men are equally precious to God. If men are to live, we must live at peace with Russia. The Soviet people want peace; they know the meaning of war."

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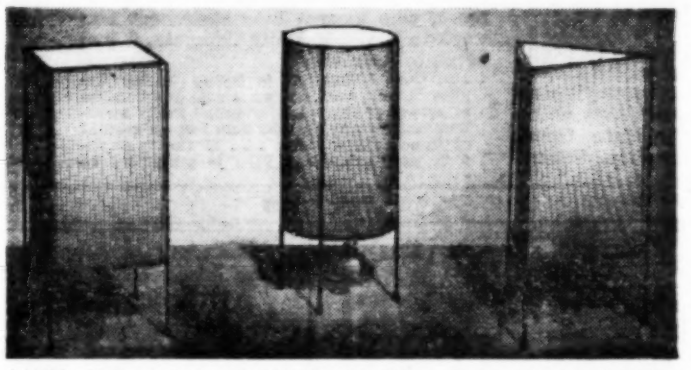

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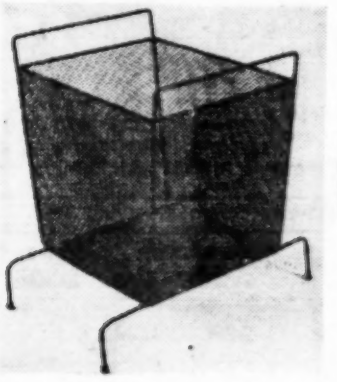

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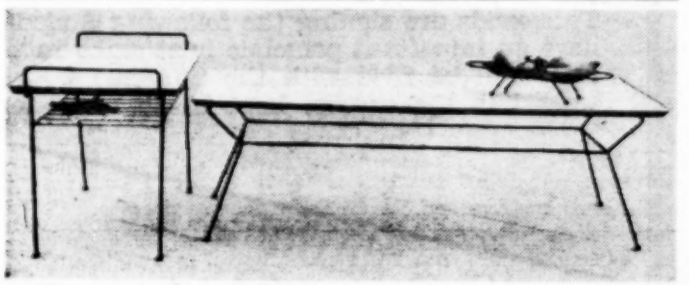

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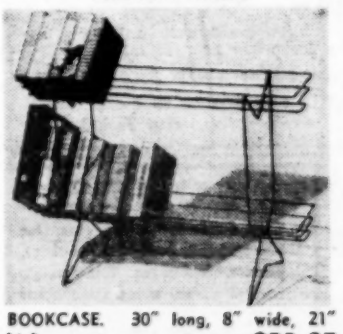

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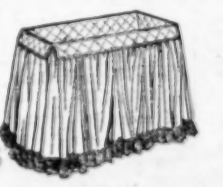

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THE LAW

U.S. sets stage for mass 'plot' trials

THE pattern of the government's "legal" attacks on basic opponents of its policies began to take clearer shape last week in two "conspiracy to advocate, etc." trials under the Smith Act, against a group of six defendants in Baltimore and a group of 15 in Los Angeles. While the two-weeks-old Baltimore trial was already being rushed to a conclusion by U.S. District Judge W. Calvin Chesnut, and the L.A. case dragged painfully into its third month before Judge William Mathes with only six witnesses heard and a mountain of documentary "evidence" yet to be produced, the defense in both cases protested that almost none of the "evidence" was linked to the defendants.

Offering a sweeping motion to strike most of the testimony from the record, L.A. defense counsel Ben Margolis pointed out that both Supreme Court decisions and the Justice Dept.'s own statement insisted the Communist Party is not outlawed; yet the Dept. was "working both sides of the street" by "going ahead in this case qualifying its witnesses as if the Communist Party were outlawed."

BAD ACTORS: Much of the testimony of these spy and stoolpigeon witnesses, permitted to testify merely because they said they had been CP members, referred to activities and conversations of which the defendants had no knowledge whatever, and even then was short on the promised blood and thunder. When Stephen Wereb, a typewriter repair man who spied in the party for the FBI, was asked to identify one defendant whom he said he knew, he first picked out a bailiff at the defendants' table and then another defendant, neither one even resembling the man named. Another FBI-spy witness, Daniel Scarletto, after an exhibition of confusion on names, dates and facts that increasingly embarrassed the prosecution, picked out a man in the audience and named him as "Walter Martin, who spoke at a Communist meeting." The man rose and announced with dignified calm:

> "I am the Rev. R. L. Turner, pastor of Pleasant Hill Baptist Church. I am sure I have never seen this witness before."

"THE GENERAL IDEA": In the Baltimore trial, when defense attorneys sought to object to the vagueness and irrelevance of testimony by two stoolpigeons Paul Crouch and John Lautner, Judge Chesnut would neither let the defense state its grounds for objecting nor state his own for overruling it. Both Crouch and Lautner admitted they knew only one of the six defendants, and Crouch had had no dealings with even him since 1945, the date from which the indictment applies. When defendant George Meyers, textile workers' leader who defended himself and had told the court he was "brought into the CP by the Celanese Corp. of America," objected that none of Lautner's "so-called evidence deals with myself or my co-defendants," and asked in what way it was relevant, the judge snapped: "It is not proper for you to ask a question of the judge."

One of the Baltimore witnesses, labor spy Robert Benner, said he never heard any of the defendants advocate force and violence but insisted that he "gathered" this was "the general idea." Another FBI informer, Mary Markward, admitted that while in the party she never heard violence advocated and was taught this would be started by reactionaries. One reporter described how at this point FBI agents in the court began to "signal violently with their hands" toward the witness.

MASS TRIALS AHEAD: Such was the climate of the trials which Atty. Gen. McGrath insisted were brought against specific individuals charged with "overt acts" of "conspiracy." The Communist Party, McGrath maintained, is not being put on trial. But to "constitutional lawyers watching the trials" in Baltimore, who gave a long statement last week to the N.Y. **Daily Compass,** it had become clear that

> . . . the government is trying to lay the groundwork here for wholesale prosecution of actual or alleged Communist Party members not for any specific acts but on ground of membership alone. . . . If the prosecution case submitted here is permitted to stand, the way will have been opened for short-cut trials and convictions of thousands in which the traditional legal concept of individual guilt would give way to a doctrine of group guilt.

The Baltimore observers noted that

> . . . the heart of the government's case is regarded as testimony by Paul Crouch, whose party membership ended some years ago, that he journeyed to Moscow in 1927 and there participated in plans for infiltrating the American armed forces. Some of the defendants were 10 years old then. . . .

The pattern was not new to those who had followed the Rosenberg Case. As the GUARDIAN (Mar. 5) summed up one vital aspect of the U.S. Appeals Court refusal to hear the case which ended in death sentences for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg:

> With regard to Americans joining an organization (which the Rosenbergs were not shown to have done), the decision wipes away the whole doctrine of personal guilt, making such persons liable for all actions of any of the top leadership even though they knew nothing about them.

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WE BELIEVE that the Prosecutor and Trial Judge permitted fear and prejudice to dominate the trial by 1) attributing to the defendants social beliefs which are today the target of virtually every tribunal, and 2) attributing to them reversals and casualties suffered in Korea.

WE BELIEVE that transient political and social passions have no place in our courts, that to deprive even one American of the right to a fair trial is to injure the rights of all Americans.

WE THEREFORE authorize the inclusion of our names in an Amicus Brief to the Supreme Court of the United States, petitioning that the verdicts and sentences be set aside, and that a new trial be ordered based on Constitutional guarantees of impartiality and fairness in accordance with the best traditions of American justice.

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